

Message Text

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USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY, USOECD ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11762: N/A

TAGS: ELAB, GW

SUBJECT: THE GASTARBEITER (GUEST WORKERS) IN THE FRG

SUMMARY: GUEST WORKERS FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN CONTINUE TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN GERMAN INDUSTRY WHILE POSING SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF A LONG TERM NATURE. HOUSING, EDUCATION OF CHILDREN, AND WORKERS RIGHTS HAVE BECOME COMPLICATED POLITICAL AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS THAT CONTINUE TO ATTRACT MORE ATTENTION. THE GASTARBEITER AND THEIR CHILDREN HAVE BECOME AND WILL REMAIN PART OF THE GERMAN SCENE. END SUMMARY.

1. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAD A POPULATION OF 61 MILLION IN 1976. FOUR MILLION OF THESE PEOPLE WERE FOREIGNERS. ACTUAL FOREIGN WORKERS (THE GASTARBEITER) WITHIN THE FOUR MILLION WERE 1.9 MILLION. THE DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITIES OF THE GASTARBEITER (1976 FIGURES) WAS: TURKS (515,830), YUGOSLAVS (376,774), ITALIANS (266,867), GREEKS (169,261), SPANIARDS (104,003), PORTUGUESE (61,177), AND OTHERS (379,923). THE FOLLOWING REPORTS PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE PROBLEMS BEING DISCUSSED IN RELATION TO THE GASTARBEITER IN THE FRG TODAY.

2. THE NUMBER OF FOREIGNERS RESIDENT IN THE FRG HAS REMAINED AT AROUND A CONSTANT LEVEL OF FOUR MILLION FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE PAST FIVE YEARS. WHAT HAS CHANGED OVER THE YEARS HAS BEEN THE PERCENTAGE OF ACTIVE WORKERS/DEPENDENT FAMILY MEMBERS OVER THE YEARS. THIS HAS DROPPED FROM 2.6 MILLION ACTIVE WORKERS VIS-A-VIS 4 MILLION RESIDENTS IN 1973 (THE HIGH POINT) TO 1.9 MILLION ACTIVE WORKERS VIS-A-VIS 4 MILLION RESIDENTS IN 1976. THE BASIS OF THIS IS THE ECONOMIC DOWNTURN SINCE 1973 AND THE FRG'S DECISION IN 1973 TO RESTRICT THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN WORKERS WHO COULD ENTER GERMANY. THIS HAS LED TO AN ABSOLUTE DROP IN THE NUMBER OF FOREIGNERS WHO HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED THROUGH NATURAL ATTRITION, INCENTIVE PROGRAMS TO RETURN TO THE COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, AND A DESIRE TO RETURN HOME. DURING THE SAME PERIOD THERE HAS BEEN A TENDENCY BY FOREIGN WORKERS EITHER TO BRING THEIR EXISTING FAMILIES TO GERMANY UNDER REUNIFICATION PROGRAMS, OR TO MARRY AND FORM FAMILIES HERE RATHER THAN POSTPONING MARRIAGE UNTIL A RETURN HOME, AND THIS IN TURN HAS LED TO THE BIRTH OF CHILDREN OF FOREIGN PARENTS IN THE FRG. THIS DEMOGRAPHIC PHENOMENON HAS LED TO AN INCREASED DEMAND FOR SOCIAL SERVICES BY THE GASTARBEITER AND THEIR FAMILIES.

3. THE PROBLE OF GHETTOIZATION (ESPECIALLY BY
TURKS) IN LARGE CITIES SUCH AS STUTTGART AND BERLIN
CONCERNS THE CITY AND LAND GOVERNMENTS. LANGUAGE DIFFI-
CULTIES AND CULTURAL DIFFICULTIES PREVENT EASY INTEGRA-
TION INTO THE LARGER POPULATION, AND THIS IN TURN LEADS
TO CHARGES THAT THE GASTARBEITER STICK TOGETHER WHILE
THE GASTARBEITER FIND THE GERMANS COLD AND FORMAL - IN
SHORT, THE FORMATION OF STEREOTYPES WHICH PREVENT PER-
SONAL CONTACT AND IN EXTREME CASES LEAD TO FIGHTS AND
OTHER DISRUPTIONS. THE GHETTOIZATION PROCESS CAN BE
TRACED TO A NUMBER OF FACTORS: THE DESIRE OF THE WOR-
KER TO SAVE OR REMIT AS MUCH MONEY AS POSSIBLE (WHICH

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MEANS THAT HE SEEKS TO KEEP HIS LIVING EXPENSES TO A MINIMUM BY LIVING IN BARRACKS TYPE ACCOMMODATIONS OR THE AREAS WITH CHEAPER HOUSING IN A CITY), A DESIRE TO BE NEAR THE WORKING PLACE (WHICH MEANS THAT FACTORIES THAT EMPLOY A LARGE NUMBER OF GUEST WORKERS WILL HAVE GHETTOS NEAR THEM OR AT LEAST LOCATED IN THE NEAREST AVAILABLE AREA WITH INEXPENSIVE HOUSING), THE DESIRE TO LIVE AMONG ONES OWN COUNTRYMEN, AND TO A LESSER DEGREE SOME OVERT DISCRIMINATION BY LANDLORDS.

4. INITIALLY, THIS GHETTOIZATION WAS NOT SEEN AS A LONG TERM PROBLEM SINCE MOST OF THE GUEST WORKERS WERE SUPPOSEDLY HERE TO WORK FOR A FEW YEARS IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE A SKILL OR CAPITAL THAT WOULD LEAD TO A JOB OR BUSINESS IN THEIR HOMELAND. "SINCE THE GASTARBEITER- WERE HERE TEMPORARILY, THE GHETTOS WOULD ALSO BE TEMPORARY" WAS THE THINKING OF THE TIMES. LIKE OTHER "TEMPORARY" PHENOMENA IN GERMAN HISTORY, HOWEVER, THE GHETTOS HAVE BECOME A PERMANENT PROBLEM. OVER ONE THIRD OF THE SPANIARDS RESIDENT IN THE FRG HAVE BEEN HERE FOR OVER TEN YEARS, AND OVER ONE HALF HAVE BEEN HERE FOR OVER SIX YEARS. THIS HAS LED TO CONFLICTS BETWEEN THOSE GERMANS WHO HOLD ON TO THE TEMPORARY SOJOURNER THEORY (WHICH HAS BEEN REVISED IN SOME QUARTERS TO STATE THAT THE WORKERS WILL REMAIN HERE UNTIL THEY ACQUIRE THE NECESSARY CAPITAL FOR A BUSINESS OR

UNTIL THEY ARE PENSIONED TO SPEND THEIR SUNSET YEARS
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IN EUROPE'S PRESENT AND FUTURE SUNBELT AREAS) AND
THOSE GERMANS WHO SEE THE PRESENCE OF A LARGE FOREIGN
POPULATION AS A PERMANENT FIXTURE IN GERMANY. THE
LATTER GROUP INCLUDING THE MAYORS OF STUTTGART
(ROMMEL - CDU) AND BREMEN (KOSCHNIK - SPD) AND THE
MINISTER PRESIDENT OF HESSE (HOLGER BOERNER - SPD)
SEE THE NEED FOR INCREASED PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE THE
INTEGRATION OF THE GASTARBEITER AND THEIR CHILDREN INTO
GERMAN SOCIETY.

5. PART OF THE PRESENT SITUATION HAS BEEN CAUSED BY
THE PERCEPTION IN SOME GERMAN CIRCLES THAT THE FRG IS
NOT AN EINWANDERUNGSLAND (LAND THAT ACCEPTS IMMIGRANTS)
SINCE HISTORICALLY THE GERMAN REICH SENT IMMIGRANTS TO
OTHER LANDS. THIS PERCEPTION LINGERS IN SPITE OF THE
FACT THAT THE PRESENT POPULATION OF THE FRG INCLUDES
MANY GERMAN (BUT ALSO SOME NON-GERMAN) REFUGEES FROM
THE EASTERN BLOC. INDEED, THE RESETTLEMENT OF
ETHNIC GERMANS PRIMARILY FROM POLAND, THE USSR, AND
ROMANIA IS CONTINUING IN THE PRESENT FRG AND IS ONE
OF THE KEY POLICIES OF THE PRESENT SPD-FDP COALITION
GOVERNMENT. THE CIRCLES THAT STATE THAT GERMANY IS
NOT AN EINWANDERUNGSLAND HAVE TENDED TO DIFFERENTIATE
BETWEEN GERMAN AND NON-GERMAN ORIGIN SETTLERS COMING
INTO THE FRG ON THE BASIS OF A COMMON LANGUAGE,
ANCESTRY AND CULTURE. THE TRUTH IN MANY CASES, HOW-
EVER, IS THAT THE ETHNIC GERMANS FROM THE EAST OFTEN
NEED INTENSIVE REMEDIAL LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION SINCE MANY
OF THEM (PARTICULARLY CHILDREN) CAN BARELY SPEAK
GERMAN, AND LATER SOCIAL HELP TO ASSIST THEIR INTEGRA-
TION INTO THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY OF THE FRG
SINCE MANY OF THESE ETHNIC GERMANS COME FROM AGRICUL-
TURAL AREAS IN THE EAST. THE FINAL ARGUMENT DISTIN-
GUISHING BETWEEN ETHNIC GERMANS AND GASTARBEITER IS
THAT THE ETHNIC GERMANS ARE PERMANENTLY SETTLING IN
THE FRG AND NEED THE HELP THAT THEY RECEIVE FROM THE
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GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO BECOME PRODUCTIVE MEMBERS OF
SOCIETY. THE TRUTH IS THAT MANY OF THE GASTARBEITER
AND MOST PARTICULARLY THEIR CHILDREN, THE SECOND GENE-
RATION, WOULD LIKE TO STAY HERE TOO.

6. THE SECOND GENERATION OF GASTARBEITER CHILDREN BORN AND/OR RAISED IN THE FRG IS HAVING PROBLEMS AND THIS IS REFLECTED IN THE FACT THAT SIXTY PERCENT OF THE SECOND GENERATION GASTARBEITER CHILDREN DO NOT RECEIVE THEIR SCHOOL CERTIFICATE FROM THE BASIC SCHOOL (GRUNDSCHULE). THIS MAKES IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR THOSE CHILDREN WITHOUT THE CERTIFICATE TO GET A JOB OR APPRENTICE POSITION AT A TIME OF HIGH YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE FRG. THE TRUTH BEHIND THIS HIGH FAILURE RATE IS: THE CHILDREN FALL BETWEEN THE CHAIRS OF THEIR NATIVE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND THE GERMAN SYSTEM. THE SECOND GENERATION DOES NOT HAVE THE COMMAND OF GERMAN THAT A GERMAN CHILD HAS, AND HIS OR HER PARENTS CANNOT HELP OVERCOME THIS SINCE THEY ARE OFTEN OUT OF THE HOUSE WORKING AND DO NOT SPEAK THE LANGUAGE THAT WELL THEMSELVES. CHILDREN WHO CAME TO THE FRG

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AFTER THE AGE OF EIGHT HAVE THE HIGHEST RATE OF FAILURE SINCE THEY STARTED IN ANOTHER SYSTEM AND CANNOT CONTINUE HERE IN THEIR NATIVE LANGUAGE. WHEN THEY DO BADLY IN SCHOOL THEY MAY BE SENT BACK TO RELATIVES WHERE THE CHILD FINDS THAT HE IS A NUMBER OF YEARS BEHIND HIS PEERS IN HIS HOMELAND. EVEN IF HE MANAGES TO CATCH UP, OFTEN THE PARENTS WILL FIND THE EXPENSE OF KEEPING THE CHILD IN THE HOMELAND TOO GREAT AND THE CHILD WILL REJOIN THE PARENTS IN THE FRG.

7. SOME TRANSITION PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN STARTED FOR SECOND GENERATION CHILDREN BUT THE GENERAL CONSENSUS IS THAT THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH. THE PROBLEM IS MOST ACUTE IN RURAL AREAS WHERE A SMALL NUMBER OF SECOND GENERATION CHILDREN OF FOUR OR MORE NATIONALITIES MAY BE PRESENT. QUITE SIMPLY THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH QUALIFIED TEACHERS TO GO AROUND. EVEN WHEN TEACHERS ARE BILINGUAL THERE IS OFTEN A PROBLEM IN THAT THE CHILDREN SPEAK DIALECTS OF THEIR NATIVE TONGUE. IN ADDITION, EDUCATION IS THE PEROGATIVE OF THE LAND GOVERNMENTS AND THIS MEANS THAT THERE IS NO FEDERAL WIDE SYSTEM OR PROGRAM FOR THESE SECOND GENERATION CHILDREN IN GERMANY TODAY. SOME OF THESE "CHILDREN" ARE NOW WORKING ILLEGALLY OR AT VERY POOR JOBS, AND AS A RESULT GERMAN EDUCATORS AND POLITICIANS ARE BEGINNING TO WARN AGAINST THE CREATION OF A SUB-PROLETARIAN CLASS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN WITHIN THE FRG. IDEALLY, SOME SORT OF SYSTEM

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WHICH WOULD GIVE THE CHILDREN AN OPTION IN EACH SYSTEM (THE FRG SYSTEM AND THEIR NATIVE SYSTEM) WOULD BE BUILT INTO PROGRAMS FOR THE GASTARBEITER CHILDREN.

8. SOME URBAN AREAS HAVE BEEN TRYING TO IMPROVE THE HOUSING SITUATION FOR GASTARBEITER BY PURSUING OPEN HOUSING PROGRAMS AND BY MAKING NEW APARTMENTS AVAILABLE. THE WORKERS WHO HAVE BEEN HERE FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME OFTEN PLAN TO STAY ON SINCE THEY ARE RELUCTANT TO RETURN HOME WHERE THERE ARE NO JOBS AND ARE NOW INCREASINGLY READY TO INVEST THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES NECESSARY TO IMPROVE THEIR HOUSING SITUATION HERE.

9. THE QUESTION OF WORKERS RIGHTS IS COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT THE SIX MEDITERRANEAN NATIONS THAT SEND WORKERS TO GERMANY ALL HAVE DIFFERENT RIGHTS FOR THEIR NATIONALS. ITALY IS A MEMBER OF THE EC AND ITALIAN NATIONALS ARE THEREFORE COVERED BY THE EC-WIDE RIGHT-TO-WORK PROVISIONS. SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND GREECE HAVE BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE FRG BUT ARE ALL PRESSING FOR EC MEMBERSHIP, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE TRANSITION PERIODS TO AVOID WAVES OF LABORERS APPEARING IN AN ALREADY TIGHT LABOR MARKET. YUGSLAVIA AND TURKEY ARE COVERED UNDER SPECIAL BILATERAL AGREEMENTS NEGOTIATED BY THE GOVERNMENTS. BY AND LARGE, THE TREND HAS BEEN TO WORK TOWARD AN ALMOST AUTOMATIC RENEWAL OF RESIDENCE AND WORKING PERMITS FOR NON-EC NATIONALS AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN HERE FOR A PERIOD OF EIGHT OR MORE YEARS, BUT THIS IS NOT YET IN FORCE. INCENTIVE PROGRAMS FOR THE RETURN OF WORKERS TO THEIR HOMELAND HAVE NOT BEEN NOTABLY SUCCESSFUL. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A NEED TO MAKE PROVISIONS FOR THE CHILDREN OF WORKERS WHO HAVE BEEN HERE FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME, SO THE RESIDENCE AND WORK PERMITS HAVE BEEN EXTENDED TO CHILDREN OF WORKERS WHO MEET CERTAIN QUALIFICATIONS AS TO PERIOD OF RESIDENCE, JOB TENURE, ETC.

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10. THERE ARE THOSE IN THE FRG WHO VIEW THE GASTARBEITER AS A GROWING PROBLEM WHICH WILL LEAD TO SOCIAL AND RACIAL TENSIONS IF THESE WORKERS AND DEPENDENTS INDEED BECOME PERMANENT SETTLERS. OTHERS, INCLUDING THE POLITICAL LEADERS WHO FAVOR THE INTEGRATION OF THE GASTARBEITER INTO GERMAN SOCIETY, SEE THIS WHOLE AREA OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS AS A TESTING

GROUND FOR THE GERMAN AND NORTHERN TIER INDUSTRIAL
NATIONS COMMITMENT TO A UNIFIED EUROPE. IT IS CLEAR,
HOWEVER, THAT SHORT OF A MAJOR CHANGE IN PRESENT
TRENDS, THE GASTARBEITER AND CHILDREN ARE HERE TO STAY.
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